

Message Text

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DRAFTED BY S/P:SWLEWIS

APPROVED BY S/P:SWLEWIS

EB - T.ENDERS

S/S- JLHOGANSON

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INFO USDEL SECRETARY PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 203719 TOSEC 100198

NODIS

E.O. 11652:GDS

TAGS:PFOR,ENG,UNGA

SUBJECT:SECRETARY'S UNGA SPEECH - DRAFT 8 - "PARTICIPATION
SECTION" - THE POLITICAL DIMENSION AND CONCLUSION
(SECTION 7 OF 7)

FOR S/S - PASS TO LORD FROM S/P-LEWIS AND EB ENDERS

WETHINK YOU HAVE DONE AN EXCELLENT JOB OF CUTTING AND

-

SHARPENING THIS SECTION. BELIEVE IT DEFINITELY SHOULD

REMAIN, AND WORKS WELL AS FIRST PORTION OF CONCLUSION -

PRESUMABLY TO BE FOLLOWED BY A COUPLE OF PAGES OF UPLIFT.

HAVE JUST RECEIVED DRAFT CONCLUSION FROM MOYNIHAN - WHICH

AM TRANSMITTING AS RECEIVED IN LAST PORTION OF THIS MESSAGE.

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RE YOUR DRAFT PARA 4, SECOND SENTENCE - NEIDLE POINTS OUT

THAT SENTENCE "RHETORIC CANNOT TRANSFER WEALTH INVOLUNTARILY

FROM ONE GROUP TO ANOTHER" SEEMS OFF TARGET AND UNCLEAR.

WE HAVE INCLUDED SUBSTITUTE LANGUAGE FOR THIS SENTENCE.

OTHERWISE NO CHANGE FROM YOUR DRAFT.

REVISED TEXT FOLLOWS: THE POLITICAL DIMENSION.

1. A GLOBAL CONSENSUS ON DEVELOPMENT -- BY DEFINITION --

REQUIRES JUST, REPRESENTATIVE AND EFFECTIVE PARTICIPATION.

IN EVERY AREA OF ENDEAVOR THAT I HAVE DESCRIBED --

SECURITY, GROWTH, TRADE, COMMODITIES AND THE NEEDS OF

THE POOREST -- THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES THEMSELVES WISH TO

INFLUENCE THE DECISIONS THAT WILL AFFECT THEIR FUTURE.

THEY ARE PRESSING FOR GREATER REPRESENTATION IN THE

INSTITUTIONS AND NEGOTIATIONS THROUGH WHICH THE WORLD

ECONOMIC SYSTEM EVOLVES.

2. THE UNITED STATES AGREES THAT DECISION-MAKING SHOULD

BE BROADLY SHARED AND THEREFORE SHOULD BE EXPANDED. WE

BELIEVE THE FOLLOWING PRINCIPLES SHOULD APPLY.

3. PARTICIPATION SHOULD BE FAIR. NO COUNTRY OR GROUP OF

COUNTRIES SHOULD HAVE EXCLUSIVE POWER IN AREAS BASIC TO

THE WELFARE OF OTHERS. THIS PRINCIPLE IS VALID FOR OIL.

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IT ALSO APPLIES TO TRADE AND FINANCE.

4. PARTICIPATION MUST BE REALISTIC. ARTIFICIAL NUMERICAL

MAJORITIES CANNOT TRANSFER WEALTH INVOLUNTARILY FROM ONE

GROUP TO ANOTHER, NOR CAN THEY CREATE WEALTH. ARBITRARY

BLOC DECISIONS ARE BOTH UNREPRESENTATIVE AND DIVORCED

FROM RESPONSIBILITY.

5. PARTICIPATION SHOULD BE RESPONSIVE TO CHANGE. IN

MANY AREAS DEVELOPING COUNTRIES HAVE NOT HAD A VOICE THAT

REFLECTS THEIR ROLE. THIS IS NOW CHANGING. WE NOTE THAT
THE GUIDING PRINCIPLE OF TWO OF THE MOST SUCCESSFUL INTER-
NATIONAL BODIES, THE IMF AND THE WORLD BANK, WHERE, FOR
EXAMPLE, THE QUOTAS OF OIL PRODUCING STATES WILL SOON BE
DOUBLED OR MORE ON THE BASIS OF OBJECTIVE CRITERIA. BASIC
ECONOMIC REALITIES, SUCH AS THE SIZE OF ECONOMIES,
PARTICIPATION IN THE WORLD TRADE AND FINANCIAL CONTRI-
BUTIONS, MUST CARRY GREAT WEIGHT.

6. FINALLY, PARTICIPATION SHOULD BE TAILORED TO THE ISSUES
AT HAND. WE CAN USEFULLY EMPLOY MANY DIFFERENT
INSTITUTIONS AND PROCEDURES: SOMETIMES WE SHOULD SEEK
BROAD CONSENSUS IN UNIVERSAL BODIES, AS WE ARE DOING
THIS WEEK IN THIS ASSEMBLY; SOMETIMES NEGOTIATIONS CAN
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MORE USEFULLY BE FOCUSED IN MORE LIMITED FORUMS, SUCH
AS THE FORTHCOMING CONSUMER-PRODUCER DIALOGUE; SOMETIMES
DECISIONS ARE BEST HANDLED IN LARGE, SPECIALIZED
BODIES SUCH AS THE IMF AND WORLD BANK, WHERE VOTING POWER
IS RELATED TO RESPONSIBILITY; AND SOMETIMES MOST
EFFECTIVE ACTION CAN BE TAKEN IN REGIONAL BODIES.

7. OF MOST IMMEDIATE RELEVANCE TO OUR DISCUSSION
AT THIS SESSION IS THE IMPROVEMENT OF THE UN SYSTEM,
SO THAT IT CAN FULFILL ITS CHARTER MANDATE "TO EMPLOY
INTERNATIONAL MACHINERY FOR THE PROMOTION OF THE
ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL ADVANCEMENT OF ALL PEOPLES..."
WE WELCOME THE THOUGHTFUL REPORT BY THE SECRETARY-

GENERAL'S GROUP OF 25 EXPERTS FOR STRUCTURAL REFORMS

IN THE UN SYSTEM. WE ARE PREPARED SERIOUSLY TO CONSIDER

ITS RECOMMENDATIONS. IN OUR VIEW, AN IMPROVED UN

ORGANIZATION MUST INCLUDE:

-- RATIONALIZATION OF THE UN'S FRAGMENTED ASSISTANCE

PROGRAMS;

-- STRENGTHENED LEADERSHIP WITHIN THE CENTRAL SECRETARIAT

AND THE ENTIRE UN SYSTEM FOR DEVELOPMENT AND ECONOMIC

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COOPERATION;

-- STREAMLINING OF THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL;

-- BETTER CONSULTATIVE PROCEDURES TO ENSURE EFFECTIVE

AGREEMENT AMONG MEMBERS WITH A PARTICULAR INTEREST

IN A SUBJECT UNDER CONSIDERATION; AND

-- A MECHANISM FOR INDEPENDENT EVALUATION OF THE

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PROGRAMS.

8. THE UNITED STATES PROPOSES THAT 1976 BE DEDICATED

AS A YEAR OF REVIEW AND REFORM OF THE ENTIRE UN

DEVELOPMENT SYSTEM. AN INTERGOVERNMENTAL COMMITTEE
SHOULD BE FORMED AT THIS SESSION TO BEGIN WORK IMMEDIATELY

ON CONCRETE RECOMMENDATIONS THAT CAN BE IMPLEMENTED

BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY IN ITS 1976 SESSION. WE

CONSIDER THIS A PRIORITY IN ANY STRATEGY FOR DEVELOPMENT.

9. CONCLUSION.

I BEGAN WITH THE EXTRAORDINARY STATEMENT THAT WE HAVE,

THIS WEEK, AN OPPORTUNITY TO IMPROVE THE CONDITION OF

MANKIND. WE MUST NOT ALLOW OURSELVES TO GROW OVERFAMILIAR

WITH THIS IDEA, FOR IT REPRESENTS AN EXTRAORDINARY CHANGE
IN MAN'S ESTATE. OUR IMAGINATION IN THE PAST HAS BEEN
LIMITED BY OUR CIRCUMSTANCES, BUT OUR CIRCUMSTANCES HAVE
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NOW CHANGED. THERE IS NO LONGER THE NEED FOR MOST OF
MANKIND TO LIVE IN WHAT KARL MARX CALLED "THE REALM OF
NECESSITY." OR SO IT APPEARS. HOWEVER, NOTHING COULD
BE THAT SIMPLE AND THREE CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS ARE
PERHAPS IN ORDER. EACH COULD COME UNDER THE HEADING OF
WHAT MAHATMA GANDHI ONCE CALLED "EXPERIMENTS WITH
TRUTH."

10. THE FIRST EXPERIMENT WOULD BE ADMIT THAT OURS WILL
NOT BE THE FIRST SUCH ASSEMBLY IN WHICH QUITE EXTRA-
ORDINARY GOALS OF INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT HAVE BEEN
PROCLAIMED. IN THE 1950'S AND EARLY 1960'S JUST SUCH
PRONOUNCEMENTS WERE MADE, OFTEN IN UNITED NATIONS
SETTINGS, AND OFTEN AT AMERICAN INITIATIVE. PRESIDENT
KENNEDY, FOR EXAMPLE, PROCLAIMED THE FIRST DEVELOPMENT
DECADE IN THIS VERY ASSEMBLY HALL IN SEPTEMBER FOURTEEN
YEARS AGO.

11. THE RHETORIC OF RECENT YEARS HAS TENDED TO MAKE
NON-EVENTS OF THESE OFTEN STIRRING UNDERTAKINGS; TO
DENY THEY EVER OCCURRED. BUT THIS CONCEALS FROM US
THINGS WE NEED TO KNOW IF OUR PRESENT UNDERTAKINGS ARE TO
BE MORE SUCCESSFUL. THUS DEVELOPMENT OCCURS, BUT CLEARLY
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WE ARE NOT CERTAIN OF ITS PROCESS, AND CANNOT ROUTINELY SET THEM IN MOTION. SOME SOCIETIES DO FAR BETTER THAN OTHERS, AND THE DIFFERENCE IS HARD TO EXPLAIN BY EXTERNAL CIRCUMSTANCES. ON THE BAY OF BENGAL, FOR EXAMPLE, YOU MAY FIND INSTANCES OF THE LOWEST URBAN STANDARDS OF LIVING IN THE WORLD, AND OF THE HIGHEST. YOU WILL FIND THE SAME CONTRASTS ON THE ISLAND OF MANHATTAN. AT MINIMUM, OUR EXPERIENCE SO FAR SHOULD CAUTION US AGAINST TOO MUCH ASSUMING THAT WE KNOW HOW TO DO WHAT HAS TO BE DONE AND NEED ONLY ASSIGN THE TASK TO AN OFFICIAL ORGANIZATION.

12. A SECOND EXPERIMENT WITH TRUTH WOULD BE TO ACKNOWLEDGE THAT THIS NONETHELESS HAS BEEN THE PATTERN OF MOST INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT EFFORT. FOR WHILE THE RHETORIC OF GLOBAL CONCERN DIRECTS ITSELF TO THE LIFE OF INDIVIDUAL PERSONS, THE SUBSTANCE OF INTERNATIONAL ACTION ALMOST INVARIABLY HAS TO DO WITH THE CONDITION OF INDIVIDUAL STATES. THE GREAT ROLE THE UNITED NATIONS HAS SO FAR PLAYED IN HISTORY HAS BEEN TO EXTEND THE EUROPEAN STATE SYSTEM TO THE FURTHEST REACHES OF
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THE INHABITED EARTH. IT IS THE EQUALITY OF STATES, NOT OF PERSONS, THAT IS THE CENTRAL THRUST OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICS IN OUR TIME. AND WHILE THE ONE MAY TEND TO PRODUCE THE OTHER, BUT IT NEED NOT, AND MOSTLY HAS NOT,

AND WE WILL SCARCELY BE EXCUSED FOR PRETENDING OTHERWISE.

13. A THIRD EXPERIMENT WITH TRUTH IS AN ESPECIALLY
PAINFUL ONE. IT IS TO ACKNOWLEDGE THAT TO IMPROVE THE
MATERIAL CONDITION OF MANKIND BY STRENGTHENING THE NATION
STATES INTO WHICH MEN AND WOMEN ARE NOW EVERYWHERE
ORGANIZED IS OFTEN TO IGNORE OTHER VALUES WHICH SOME
NATIONS, OUR NATION FOR ONE, HOLD IN HIGH ESTEEM. WHEN
THE FOUNDERS OF THE AMERICAN REPUBLIC GATHERED IN
PHILADELPHIA TWO CENTURIES AGO, THEY FULLY BELIEVED THAT
THEY TOO WERE SETTING OUT TO IMPROVE THE CONDITION OF
MANKIND, AND WE, TWO CENTURIES LATER, BELIEVE THEY DID.
FOR THEY PROCLAIMED LIBERTY THROUGHOUT THE LAND, AND
INDEED THROUGHOUT THE WORLD. LIBERTY OF THE SACRED PERSON
AGAINST THE IMPOSITIONS OF THE STATE. TO USE THE JARGON
OF MODERN BUREAUCRACY, THE GNP PER CAPITA OF THE AMERICAN
COLONIES IN 1776 WOULD CLASSIFY THEM TODAY AS AMONG THE
LEAST DEVELOPED OF THE LESS DEVELOPED. AND YET SUCH
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WAS THEIR CONCERN FOR INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY THAT THEY WERE
QUITE WILLING TO SACRIFICE MATERIAL WELL BEING TO WIN IT.
IT WOULD BE A SAD EXCHANGE IF THE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD
WERE NOW TO REVERSE THIS PRIORITY, AND A POOR USE OF
THE UNITED NATIONS TO FACILITATE IT. FOR WE CAN HAVE
BOTH AND WE SHOULD HAVE BOTH.

14. THESE THINGS SAID, THERE REMAIN ENORMOUS THINGS TO
DO. WE SAY ONCE MORE TO THE NEW NATIONS: WE HAVE HEARD
YOUR VOICES. WE EMBRACE YOUR HOPES. WE WILL JOIN YOUR

EFFORTS. WE WILL MEASURE OUR COMMON COMMITMENT BY THE

SHARED RESULTS. INGERSOLL

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